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AUTHOR Sparkes, Vernone M.; Robinson, Gertrude Joch
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ABSTRACT

This study tested the power of "elite nation" factors (trade, population, and gross national product) to predict the amount of foreign news coverage for specific countries. A composite week for the first quarter of 1975 was randomly drawn, and ten Canadian and twenty-nine United States newspapers were coded for all news items reported on those days, yielding the total number of column-inches of foreign news coverage in each country, with a breakdown by country or geographical area. As expected, a rather large discrepancy was found between Canadian coverage of the United States (49% of foreign news) and United States coverage of Canada (1.72%). However, elite nation factors proved to be poor predictors for the United States foreign news coverage, and only one of the factors, trade, showed any predictive ability for the Canadian press. The results suggest that the elite nations themselves do not base their foreign news coverage on such matters as trade relations, population distribution, or economic development. (Author/RL)

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN PRESS:

A COMPARATIVE NEWS FLOW STUDY

By

Vernone M. Sparkes
Communications Research Center
School of Public Communications
Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

Gertrude Joch Robinson
Department of Sociology
McGill University
Montreal, Quebec

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Vernone M. Sparkes
Gertrude Joch Robinson

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN PRESS:

A COMPARATIVE NEWS FLOW STUDY

The study of international news flow is relatively young and, unlike most communication analysis, has been largely undertaken outside of the North American continent. As a result, many American investigators are unaware of recent Scandinavian work, for example, which has developed and tested a variety of hypotheses about international news flow. The study here reported is an attempt to extend the Scandinavian work into the North American continent. The two objectives of the study are first to present basic descriptive data about the current level of international news in the Canadian and American press; and second, to test the predictive power for North America of news flow theory developed overseas. Special attention shall be paid to the ever perplexing problem of the differential news flow between the United States and Canada. As both Hart[1] and Scanlon[2] have documented, the gap appears wide. There is much more coverage of the U.S. in Canadian newspapers than of Canada in U.S. papers. This paper will seek to further illuminate this exchange by testing it against emerging news flow theory.

International news flow first generated attention in the early fifties, when two European studies formulated the themes which were to preoccupy analysts for the following decade. In the wake of crumbling colonial ties and U.S. political ascendancy, UNESCO, How Nations See Each Other (1954), began a long tradition of descriptive "image" studies.[3] These probed national stereotypes and the generalized picture of America in the press of other countries.[4]

The International Press Institute's Flow of News (1953), another germinal study, for the first time raised issues about the way in which international information was reported and distributed. It noted that international flow is uneven and that the global agencies tend to focus on hard news and on "elite nations." Most accounts, it found, were devoted to war, politics and foreign relations, ignoring cultural and other human activities as well as the doings of smaller nations.[5] This tradition which spawned a series of studies comparing the flow from highly to less developed countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia, also led to the investigation of the news selection process from global agencies to local newspapers.[6]

Ten years later, in the mid-sixties, Scandinavian scholars utilized this foundation of descriptive studies to develop the first theoretical perspectives for the explanation of international news flow. Ostgaard in 1965 pointed out that news is produced in a politico-economic context and is additionally affected by "channel" discrepancies,[7] while Galtung and Ruge tried to specify what these "channel" characteristics were.[8] According to Galtung's psychological theory, an event is more likely to be chosen to become "news" if it has certain frequency, clarity, consonance and continuity characteristics and if it concerns "elite" nations or people and contains personification and negativism.

Subsequent scholars have tried to unambiguously operationalize and test Galtung and Ruge's news factors, as well as their additivity and complimentary hypotheses. These state that the more news factors an event has, the greater its likelihood of selection into the international news stream, and the more the news concerns an elite nation, the less negatively it will be reported. The

additivity hypothesis seems to be confirmed[9] though the complimentary hypothesis is not. Rosengren in a number of papers notes that extra-media standards are required for evaluating media performance[10] and that questions of reasonable geographical coverage cannot be answered without some standardization of the data.[11]

The Factors Which Affect International News Flow

On the basis of the above cited work, factors affecting the international flow of news can be categorized into four groups; technical-economic, political-historical, editorial weighting, and what might be called marketplace or audience factors. The first two can be seen as boundary factors, setting limits on the availability of foreign news. The second two relate more to the editorial process, influencing the allotment of the foreign newshole space.

1. Technical-Economic Factors

To understand the structure and content of international news according to Ostgaard, various "givens" must be kept in mind. A country's news values, which determine the focus and content of its world picture are not created in a vacuum. They depend on the availability of communications technology, historical precedents, as well as economic and political relations and editorial judgments.

The technical facilities for international communication, as is well known, are not evenly distributed around the world. They are more available in the highly than the less developed nations. In the age of satellites, UNESCO finds that as many as 33% of the world's population still lack the most elementary means of informing themselves about international events. About one third (45) of all states and territories in Africa, Asian and Latin America with over 200

million people lack national news agencies and the minimum requirements of ten newspapers, five radios, two television sets and two cinema seats per 100 population.[12] Unequal distribution of facilities, according to Schamm,[13] causes international news to flow from higher to the less developed countries.

In spite of the fact that no such technological barriers exist between the United States and Canada because both have highly developed communications technologies, economic factors have yet created a one-direction news flow from the U.S. to Canada. The organization of the international news market is two-tiered. The global AP, UPI, Agence France-Presse, Reuters, and TASS dominate this market as wholesalers, selling their product to 90 national agencies. These agencies in turn, retail foreign news to their own press and broadcast outlets and return national coverage to the globals. In the U.S.-Canadian example this means the Associated Press, Reuters and Agence France-Presse funnel some 250,000 words daily into the CP's New York office, while the return-flow from CP's Toronto office constitutes only about 35,000 words of Canadian and international news daily.[14] That is to say, the flow of international news into Canada is much greater than the outflow of Canadian news to other countries.

The problem for Canada by this imbalance, of course, is that the economic benefits of drawing upon large foreign news sources are offset by the possible cultural impact of this heavy foreign presence in their domestic news media.*

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*It should be noted, however, that the data of the present study does not support this fear of "cultural imperialism". As Canadian press reliance on U.S. sources for foreign news increases, the character of the Canadian foreign news should more closely approximate that of the U.S. press. To test this expectation, percentage breakdown of foreign news by story type in the Canadian press was correlated with that in the U.S. press. Story types categorization followed the IPI subject

categories. The resultant correlation was r = -.0446. When treatment of selected individual countries was tested for, the following results were found.

Country Covered	U.S.-Cnd. Treatment Correlation	Percent of Cnd. News from U.S. Sources
United Kingdom	.72	29%
North Africa	.90	21%
Central Africa	.66	24%
South America	.36	64%
Germany	.32	65%
Japan	.59	70%

2. Political, Historical and Cultural Factors

Political factors often reinforce economic imbalances. The gatekeeping function of TASS and other socialist country news agencies, which drastically reduces the dissemination of Western produced international information in the communist world, is well documented[15], as is Yugoslavia's search for a "third world" perspective.[16] Less well known is the effect of colonial ties on international news flow. Hachten mentions that it costs more to send messages between various African states, than to route them via London or Paris, which are international transmission points and headquarters of the original colonial powers.[17]

In Canada, according to Hardin, colonialism prejudiced the search for viable solutions to some of the country's economic and broadcasting problems.[18]

Instead of vigorously supporting public enterprises in solving communication needs, Canadians coupled this solution with a free-enterprise ideology which the sparsely populated continent could not afford. Though crown corporations paid off handsomely in railroad building, air travel and broadcast links, the majority of radio and television stations are today privately owned and the country's foreign news is produced by a media-owned cooperative. The Canadian Press (CP), like many of its newspaper members, has according to Senator Keith Davey, failed to support the development of an adequate foreign correspondent corps to serve national needs.[19] Further, the immediate availability of well developed foreign sources, as noted above, has probably aggravated this prejudice by providing a means of satisfying the public interest in news of foreign affairs.

The deployment of the correspondent corps is another factor affecting world news attention. According to a recent study by Kliesch, the 676 U.S. foreign correspondents are not equally distributed around the globe. More than half (51%) are located in Europe, where England and France claim 179 members of the force. Another 23% are in Asia, while the final 26% provide token coverage of South American and Africa.[20] Canada's deployment of its net shows similar imbalances. One third each of the 28 corps members are stationed in Washington and London respectively, with the final third located in Paris (4), Peking/Hong Kong (4), Moscow (1), and Brussels (1).[21] Doubtlessly this disposition will lead to a higher news coverage of the U.S. and Britain than other parts of the world.

3. Editorial Weighting Factors

While technological, economic, and political factors might determine the boundary conditions within which international news selection occurs, they cannot

explain the editorial selection process itself.[22] In the U.S.-Canadian example, the fact that the former has a global and the latter a national news source suggests there will be proportionally more stories about the U.S. available to Canadian editors than vice versa. Yet such gross availability does not in itself explain how American and Canadian editors will utilize their scarce newspaper space.

Galtung and Ruge explored the idea of the "elite" nations, suggesting that such will receive more editorial attention than will the so-called "non-elite" nations. However, detailed testing indicates that their psychological interpretation of "elite" must be dropped because of the high level of ambiguity involved. Rosengren, on the other hand, suggests that the "elite" nation concept is best operationalized in such terms as a country's relative population size, Gross National Product, and trade with the reporting country.[23] In evaluating U.S. and Canadian coverage of one another, for example, we might project that the U.S., with ten times the population of Canada and the heavily dominant trading partner in Canadian foreign trade, will receive about ten times as much coverage by Canada as that country receives by the United States.

4. Pressures of the Marketplace

This final factor is one which the press in many socialist countries would not usually have to worry about. While the Western world commonly denegrates the "freedom" of the press in communist block countries, these countries in turn question the reality of freedom claimed by a press which must be popular with the mass public in order to survive.[24] In a commercially sponsored system, "news" is a commodity which has to be freshly packaged every twenty-four hours. "Newsworthiness," consequently, becomes associated with "perishability" and "reader interest."

Reader interest, in turn, is defined in terms of what will "sell." Thus it is the editor's perception of what the public wants, and not any theory of what the public needs that determines which news gets into print and which does not.

Expectations and Hypotheses

Each of the four types of news factors discussed above will affect the amount and kind of foreign coverage national news media will finally present to their publics. While evoking all four types to help explain the distribution of foreign news found in this study, only the "elite nation" factors and the cultural factor are here directly tested. The three "elite nation" variables used in these tests are Trade, Population, and Gross National Product. Trade was measured in terms of the summed import and export flow between the reporting and reported country, and expressed in terms of percentage of the total dollar value of either Canadian or American imports and exports. Population and Gross National Product are expressed in terms of percentage of world population and world GNP respectively.

Considering the American and Canadian press in light of these elitism measures, it was generally expected that coverage of "elite" nations would be more pronounced in Canadian papers than American, but that the elite factors would still be significant predictors for the American press. Specifically to the question of how well Canada and the United States cover one another, the relative position of the two countries with regard to variables defining eliteness would find proportional expression in the flow of news between the two countries. More precisely stated, the hypothetical expectations of this study were as follows.

Hypothesis I: For both the Canadian and American press, the percent of total foreign news devoted to specific countries or geographic areas will overall be positively correlated with the three measures of elitisms; level of trade, population, and Gross National Product (GNP).

Hypothesis II: For both Canada and the United States, the cultural and historical ties with the United Kingdom should combine with boundary factors (Reuters) to increase coverage of that country over what would be expected from values of the three elitism measures.

Hypothesis III: News of Canada in the U.S. press, and news of the United States in the Canadian press will be directly proportional to each country's standing in the "elite nation" measures.

Method and Procedures

A total of thirty-nine newspapers from Canada and the United States were selected for analysis. The papers were chosen on the basis of circulation size rather than as a sample of all newspapers in Canada and the United States, and are therefore to be treated as a population. On the Canadian side, ten papers were selected, representing all provinces with the exception of New Brunswick and an overall circulation of approximately two million. On the American side twenty-nine papers were chosen, again primarily on the basis of circulation size but with some additions to provide better geographic representation. Total circulation of these papers is over thirteen million.

Table I about here

The sample frame for the project was the first quarter of 1975 (January-March). For this period a composite week was drawn, giving a randomly selected Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, etc., for the three month period. The total sample, then, was to include 263 indivudual newspaper issues. Of this 263, forty-four issues were missed, providing a "return" of 83 percent on the original sample.

All news items in the newspapers were coded according to dateline, subject, source, column inches, and placement within the paper. News items were defined as everything excluding the following: commercial messages, special audience sections such as a "women's page", the "sports section", and the comics. Special weekend magazine supplements were also excluded. Care was taken, however, to determine when a section moved away from special audience features (local sports scores) to general news (a world record or feature story on a sports personality, for example). All told, close to 18,000 stories were coded.

The analysis reported in this paper is based on a summation of column inches across all newspapers coded from Canada and across all newspapers coded from the United States.* Standardization of figures was then achieved through conversion

*It is worth noting that story counts produced different results than did a count of column inches. With a story count the foreign newshole for U.S. and Canadian press respectively were 15.3 percent and 19.1 percent (33.8 percent with U.S. news included). Compare this with figures of 11.8, 14.0, and 27.6 derived from a count of inches. Story counts, therefore, appear to inflate the measure of foreign newshole size.

to percentiles. Coverage by the American press of Germany, for example, is expressed in terms of the summed inches of German news as a percentage of the summed inches of all foreign news across all American newspapers.

The one major point of potential bias which did occur in the sample has to do with missing weekend papers. For the American sample, 10 out of 29 Sunday papers were not procured for coding, while for the Canadian sample only 2 out of 10 Saturday papers (the Canadian equivalent of Sunday editions) were missed. It is not clear from analysis whether increasing the number of Sunday editions on the American side would have significantly affected the percentages of foreign news. It should be remembered, however, that the analysis is made across papers and between countries, and not between papers.

Results

The first observations to be made are basically descriptive. It was found that the newshole for foreign news in the Canadian press is 27.56 percent, while in the American press it is 11.87 percent. At first glance there appears to be

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Table II about here

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a rather large discrepancy, but the true difference lies in the amount of Canadian foreign news which is about the United States, 13.52 percent of all news. Removing this rather large block, the Canadian foreign newshole figure falls more in line with that for the United States, becoming 14.04 percent. If we similarly remove the Canadian news from American papers, we have comparative percentage figures of 14.04 for Canada and 10.57 for the United States as percentages of total news

devoted to foreign coverage apart from Canada and the United States. This compares to averages of 10.38 for Canada and 13.43 for the United States found by Hart in 1963 on the basis of a much narrower sample of newspapers from both countries.[25] It was found that the geographic distribution of foreign news by the two presses correlated highly (r = .86).

Before proceeding to evaluate the data with regard to the stated hypotheses, several other general observations are in order. First, the discrepancy between Canadian coverage of the United States and American coverage of Canada is large indeed: 13.52 percent of total news as compared to .20 percent, and 49.06 percent of foreign news compared to 1.72 percent. In pointing out this discrepancy, however, we are yet left with the question proposed by Rosengren regarding extra media standards by which to evaluate such differences.[26] Such an evaluation is the essence of the test of Hypothesis III.

Table III about here

Another general observation has to do with the very limited attention paid the third large country of the North American continent, Mexico. On the basis of an eyeball comparison, Mexico certainly does not seem to qualify, at least as far as the press is concerned, as an important neighbor. This finding is contrary to Rosengren's observation that "compared to the proportion of population, the proportion of news from close neighbor countries tend to be overrepresented."[27]

Turning now to our hypotheses, Hypothesis I, the primary question of this study, was partially supported for the Canadian press, but decidedly not supported for the American press. For Canada, the percentage of foreign news is moderately

correlated with level of trade. For the United States press, no such correlations seem to exist. Neither population nor GNP show up as predictors in either press. It is interesting to note how dramatically the correlation measures for Canada

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Table IV about here

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change given the presence or absence of American news. Even without the American news block, however, the Canadian correlation of .37 for trade figures is notable. It is also interesting to observe that the Canadian press was able to achieve both this correlation and the high correlation with the American coverage pattern ($r = .86$), suggesting that American coverage of world events fits better with the economic realities of Canadian foreign relations than with American. (The correlation between American news percentiles and Canadian foreign trade is .18.)

The causes of the very low U.S. correlations are not hard to find. Three countries with which the U.S. has major trade arrangements--Canada, Mexico, and Japan--receive minimal attention in the press, while areas with which the U.S. has lesser economic ties--France, North Africa, and Israel--are proportionally given a great deal of attention. If Canadian coverage is at least partially predictable from trade relations, what can we say about the American coverage? Perhaps only that the editorial selection process in the United States simply does not take such relational matters into account, but rather defers to the news values of the marketplace.

A rather important methodological note to be made at this point has to do with the level of measurement used for dateline. To facilitate coding and analysis, the present study measured for individual countries wherever possible, and

grouped others according to logical relationships. The resulting breakdown is considerably more refined than the regional groupings used by Rosengren in his 1974 study of news flow in the Swedish press.[28] When the breakdown of this study was collapsed into regions the news factor correlations increased rather dramatically.

Table V about here

This poses a dilemma for the researcher. If he collapses too far, cases of serious over and under reporting can be disguised. If more precise breakdown is used, then historical idiosyncracies of the study's time frame can be a source of distortion.

Hypothesis II received support on both the Canadian and American sides. Coverage of United Kingdom, as previously noted, is quite above what we would expect from such predictors as trade relations, population or GNP. On the basis of trade relations we would project about 5 percent and 13 percent of the foreign news in the American and Canadian presses respectively to be devoted to the United

Table VI about here

Kingdom. Instead we find 14.51 and 29.40 percent for the United States and Canada. As noted in the statement of hypothesis, however, we would expect this skewing on the basis of both the cultural-historical ties and the availability of Reuters as a well developed outflow news source. The deployment of correspondence corps would also contribute to this skewing, but one would not expect this alone to result in such a difference from the other West European countries.

Hypothesis III stated that American and Canadian press coverage of one another would be in line with predictions we would make from comparative trade, population, and GNP figures. That is to say, the ratio of Canadian coverage to all foreign news in the U.S. press would be roughly equivalent to the ratio of U.S. Canadian trade to the total U.S. foreign trade with the countries included in the press coverage of the composite week, and so forth.

Table VII about here

The results here are rather uneven, but as with the general factor correlations, Canadian coverage of the U.S. (49.06 percent) appears commensurate with the coverage projected from trade (64.37 percent) and GNP (29.82 percent). In light of these projections, the 49.06 percent figure for the U.S. news in Canadian newspapers does not seem as out of line as might at first appear. In considering actual and projected U.S. press coverage of Canada the Trade projection is considerably higher than the actual coverage, suggesting some room for improvement. The comparison with Population and GNP, however, are not far off.

Discussion and Conclusions

The findings about international news flow in the Canadian and American press provide answers to both empirical and theoretical questions. In the matter of U.S.-Canadian news exchange, the data show that the differential international news flow between the two countries is neither surprising nor incomprehensible. Canada in contrast to the United States is not an "elite" nation either in terms of world trade or power. It therefore does not merit exceptional global attention.

Nor does the country own one of the wholesale producers of world news. Its newspapers must consequently purchase most of their world coverage from outside sources. As we have seen, the CP produces and returns only about one-seventh the daily number of international news words flowing into its Toronto office from AP New York. These generally concern Canadian affairs for the pool of global information.

To the suggestion that too much attention is paid to the United States in Canadian papers, the study responds by suggesting that this is perhaps not the case. If one standardizes a country's news attention with respect to trade, it appears that even with an average of 49.06 percent of the foreign newshole, America is underrepresented in the pages of most Canadian newspapers. (An even greater underrepresentation occurs in the French press of Quebec where Scanlon found only 15.1 percent of all stories dealing with the United States.[29])

The study's findings with regard to news flow theory are more controversial. Contrary to discoveries by Rosengren and Rikardsson in Sweden, the findings with respect to Hypothesis I indicate that though trade is in general a stronger predictor than population of the amount of coverage a nation or world region will receive, even this predictor does not work particularly well for all nations. The correlations between trade and foreign news coverage in Canadian papers (.37 and .92) as against correlations of only .03 and -.01 for population agrees in direction with a similar finding by Rosengren.[30] He too found imports more strongly correlated (.77) with Swedish coverage of the world regions than population (.48)* Yet, this predictor unfortunately is not very accurate. The data

*Discrepancies in magnitude of correlation are affected by level of measurement, and are therefore difficult to analyze. It should also be noted that Rosengren used ρ while the present study uses r.

suggest that while it might predict the coverage of the non-elite Canadian press, it does not work for the elite United States. Here Trade and Population and GNP are negative and show no correlation whatsoever. The prediction power of Rosengren's "elite nation" factors, then, is far from clear. Further studies are needed which employ both refined geographic categories and longitudinal data.

Another theoretical implication also requires further investigation. This emerges from results derived from Hypothesis II, which predicts that cultural affinities will affect international news flow. Hester suggests that information between patron-protege countries sharing cultural traits will be greater.[31] Though no adequate operationalizations of this concept exist as yet, our study suggests that some aspects of the patron-protege relationship may be accountable by boundary conditions. In the case of Great Britain, Canada and the United States, two factors seem to be most relevant: the disposition of the countries' foreign correspondent corps and the availability of international news from the English global agency.

Both Canada and the United States station a very large proportion of their foreign correspondents in England. A third (33%) of all Canadian and nearly a quarter (23%) of all Americans work in London. This represents a large investment in manpower when one considers that Paris, the second most important city, attracts 18 percent and 14 percent respectively and all Latin America together has only 0 percent and 12 percent of the total Canadian and United States reporting force.

More difficult to assess is the impact of alternative global sources. An early UNESCO study of news agencies mentions the "nationalistic" bias of the five globals both in terms of interpretation as well as in the number of items devoted to news about their respective home countries.[32] This means that the European

wire of AP carries more stories about the United States than about other countries, just as Reuters covers Britain in greater detail than the rest of the world. The easy availability of Reuters via the Canadian Press and Associated Press wires contributes to the heavy coverage of Great Britain in the Canadian and American press.

Yet, neither the correlations between the distribution of the foreign correspondent net and coverage, nor those between available country input and actual editorial selection have been systematically developed. Certainly the relationships are not linear as Rosengren and Rikardsson illuminate when they note that Sweden's national and regional newspapers utilize differential as well as a wide variety of international news sources.[33]

A final factor affecting international news flow which needs additional definition and scrutiny concerns what we have loosely called "pressures of the market place" or a North American editor's conception of "newsworthiness." The fact that Hypothesis II was not born out and that coverage of world regions in the United States press followed no predictable pattern, suggests that "elite" nations may view the world from a different perspective than non-elite nations. In spite of this, the results of Table III indicate that the proportional Canadian and United States news attention as measured by the percent of foreign news devoted to different countries and regions, does show strong geographical similarities. In addition to Great Britain which is first in attention, the two countries' newspapers devoted 26 percent and 33 percent respectively of their coverage to three regions: Australia and New Zealand, Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece) and Israel.

This common ordering of geographical priorities is derived not only from actual happenings like the change of regime and elections in Spain and Portugal during the spring of 1976 and the Lebanon crisis involving Israel, but from the fact that both systems are privately owned and therefore must produce news of interest to a variety of audiences and advertisers. Other press systems, an earlier study by Robinson shows, not only develop different geographic priorities but balance human interest stories against economic and political accounts helpful in predicting the future.[34]

Much still remains to be done to derive a more detailed definition of "newsworthiness" as it pertains to the business financed press of North America. Ostgaard suggests that in such a system "newsworthiness" based on reader interest is generated through "simplification" and "identification." "Simplification" favors the selection of events from familiar parts of the world and makes descriptions less complex. Reader "identification" is achieved through "personification" and "sensationalizing" the news.

Partial evidence for these tendencies in U.S. international reporting come from a comparative study of headlines in the New York Times and the Hungarian party daily Nepszabadsag. Greater American "personification" of a United Nations debate was evident in the large number of names used in the United States, but not in the Hungarian headlines (36 versus 3). "Sensationalism" in reporting manifested itself in a stress on conlfict rather than agreement in the disarmament debate headlines. Gerbner notes that the Times tended to highlight procedural moves, gains and threats rather than the substantive issues. He concludes "this perspective serves needs for producing and selling news and other commodities on

behalf of clients with conflicting views but a common stake in the game."[35] A "games" approach with its clash, color and scoring is a preferred method for generating public attention in North American society.

FOOTNOTES

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4. See for instance John Merill, "The Image of the U.S. in Ten Mexican Dailies," Journalism Quarterly, 39:2, (1964) 203-209 and Wayne Wolf, "Images of the United States in the Latin American Press," Journalism Quarterly, 41:1 (1965) 79-87.

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19. Royal Commission Report on the Mass Media, (Davey) vol. I, The Uncertain Mirror, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970, p. 233.

20. Ralph Kliesch, "Foreign Correspondents," Journalism Educator, 29:3 (October 1975), p. 11.

21. A re-check by the authors in 1976 confirms Scanlon's original Canadian foreign correspondent count.

22. Rosengren and Rikardsson, op cit, p. 114-115.

23. Ibid.

24. Fred Siebert, T. Peterson, and W. Schramm, Four Theories of the Press, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969, p. 127.

25. Hart, op cit, p. 70.

26. Karl Rosengren, "International News: Four Types of Tables," June 1974, (unpublished paper).

27. Rosengren and Rikardsson, op cit, p. 104.

28. Rosengren and Rikardsson, op cit.

29. Scanlon, op cit, p. 14.

30. Rosengren and Rikardsson, op cit, p. 104.

31. Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," Gazette, 19, (1973) 238-247.

32. UNESCO, News Agencies, Their Structure and Operation, Paris: Unipub 1961, p. 200.

33. Rosengren and Rikardsson, op cit, p. 105.

34. Gertrude Joch Robinson, Tito's Maverick Media: Mass Communication in Yugoslavia, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977 (forthcoming). See especially chapter i: The Picture of the World: Interpretation.

35. George Gerbner, "Press Perspectives in World Communication: A Pilot Study," Journalism Quarterly, 38:2 (Summer 1961) p. 321.

Table 1

Canadian and American Newspapers Selected for Analysis

American	Canadian
New York Times	Vancouver Sun
New York News	Calgary Herald
Los Angeles Times	Edmonton Journal
Chicago Tribune	Regina Leader-Post
Detroit News	Winnipeg Free Press
New York Post	Ottawa Citizen
Philadelphia Bulletin	Toronto Globe and Mail
Washington Post	Toronto Star
San Francisco Chronicle	Montreal Star
Miami Herald	Halifax Mail-Star
Billings Gazette	
Boston Herald-American	
Milwaukee Journal	
Kansas City Star	
St.Louis Post-Dispatch	
Houston Chronicle	
Buffalo News	
Dallas Times-Herald	
Minneapolis Star	
Atlanta Constitution	
Denver Post	
Des Moines Register	
Seattle Post-Intelligencer	
Indianapolis Star	
Louisville Courier-Journal	
Columbus Dispatch	
New Orleans Times-Picayune	
Oklahoma City Oklahoman	
Salt Lake City Tribune	

Table II

Domestic and Foreign

News in Canadian and U.S. Press

	Canadian Press	U.S. Press
Total Column Inches	82,563*	243,593**
Total Foreign Inches	22,752	28,917
Coverage of Other Country	11,162	497
Adjusted Foreign Newshole+	14.04%	10.57%

* Across 49 newspaper issues
** Across 170 newspaper issues
+ U.S. news removed from Canadian press and Canadian news removed from U.S. press

Table III

Summed Column Inches and Percentage Figures for Foreign News in the Canadian and U.S. Press

	Canada		United States	
	Inches	Percent of Foreign News Minus U.S.	Inches	Percent of Foreign Ne
Domestic	59,811	----	214,676	----
Canada	----	----	497	1.72
United States	11,162	----	----	----
Mexico	200	1.73	144	.50
Carribean	178	1.54	641	2.22
Central & South America	228	1.96	1,629	5.63
Europe	170	1.47	376	1.30
Great Britain	3,408	29.40	4,195	14.51
France	565	4.87	1,424	4.92
Germany	286	2.47	646	2.23
Scandinavia	18	.16	122	.42
Holland, Belgium, Switzerland	176	1.52	320	1.11
Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece	1,096	9.46	2,532	8.76
East Europe	70	.60	269	.93
Russia	394	3.40	1,088	3.76
North Africa	467	4.02	1,332	4.61
Central Africa	420	3.62	694	2.40
South Africa	158	1.36	275	.95
Middle East	237	2.04	432	1.49
Israel	626	5.40	2,087	7.22
Arab Oil Countries	242	2.09	1,003	3.47
Arab (other)	335	2.89	1,200	4.15
Asia	66	.57	232	.80
India & Pakistan	298	2.57	400	1.38
China	221	1.91	721	2.49
Japan	102	.88	409	1.41
S.E. Asia	1,315	11.35	4,910	16.98
Australia & New Zealand	239	2.06	369	1.28
Pacific Islands	22	.19	329	1.14
World (general)	53	.46	641	2.22
Total Foreign	22,752	100.00	28,917	100.00
Total News	82,563		243,593	

Table IV

Correlations of Foreign Coverage

With "Elite Nation" Factors*

	Trade	Population	G.N.P.
Canadian Press, Without U.S. News	.3706	-.0578	.0262
Canadian Press With U.S. News	.9598	.0162	.8400
U.S. Press	-.0447	-.0133	-.0431

* For base of correlation, see list in Table III.

Table V

Correlations of Foreign Coverage

With "Elite Nation" Factors, Across Geographic Regions

	Trade	Population	G.N.P.
Canadian Press Without U.S. News	.9190	-.0071	.9525
U.S. Press	.4815	.3707	.8160

Table VI

Comparison of Canadian and U.S. Coverage of

the United Kingdom with Coverage Projected from "Elite Nation" Measures

	Actual Coverage in Percent of Foreign News	Trade Projection	Population Projection	G.N.P. Projection
Canadian Coverage of U.K.	29.40%	13.06%	1.71%	5.71%
U.S. Coverage of U.K.	14.51%	4.53%	1.71%	5.71%

Table VII

Comparison of Actual Canada-U.S. Mutual Coverage With

Coverage Projected from "Elite Nation" Factors

	Actual Coverage in Percent of Foreign News	Trade Projection	Population Projection	G.N.P. Projection
Canadian Coverage of U.S.	49.06%	64.37%	5.59%	29.82%
U.S. Coverage of Canada	1.72%	21.16%	.59%	3.70%